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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TELEGRAM

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FROM	SECRETARY TOKYO	CLASSIFICATION
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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SECRETARY KISSINGER TELEVISION INTERVIEW, TOKYO, OCTOBER 23

ACTION: SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO: USIA WASHDC

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FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON S/PRS FROM FUNSETH
DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF 10-MINUTE INTERVIEW BY
SECRETARY KISSINGER WITH THREE TELEVISION NETWORK
CORRESPONDENTS IN TOKYO, OCTOBER 23. WE HAVE RE-
LEASED HERE, EMBARGOED UNTIL 0700 JAPANESE STANDARD
TIME, OCTOBER 24, 1975 (NR 1800 EDT, OCTOBER 23, 1975):

DON OLIVER, NBC: MR. SECRETARY, SOMEONE SAID
THAT THE MEETINGS IN PEKING WERE IN A RATHER CHILLY
ATMOSPHERE WITH SOME CRITICISM OF THE UNITED STATES
ON THE OPENING NIGHT'S BANQUET AND RATHER CURT STATE-
MENTS ON THE CLOSING NIGHT. HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE
THE MEETINGS AND WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY ACCOMPLISHED?

DRAFTED BY: S/PRS:FUNSETH	DRAFTING DATE XXXXXX	TEL. EXT.	CONTENTS AND CLASSIFICATION APPROVED BY: S:LPBremer
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CLEARANCES:

S/S:PSchlamm

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MR. KISSINGER: THE CHINESE DESCRIBED THE MEETINGS AS FRIENDLY AND WIDE RANGING WHICH I THINK IS ESSENTIALLY CORRECT. WE HAD VERY FULL DISCUSSIONS. WE COVERED THE TOPICS IN ABOUT THE MANNER IN WHICH WE EXPECTED AND WE ARE SATISFIED WITH THE VISIT. I THINK IT LAID THE BASIS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT AND MAINTAINED THE RELATIONSHIP AT THE LEVEL WHICH BOTH SIDES WANT.

BERNARD KALB, CBS: MR. SECRETARY, THE CHINESE MADE A POINT AND HAVE MADE THE POINT OF ATTACKING VARIOUS ASPECTS OF US FOREIGN POLICY THAT YOU PERSONALLY ARE VERY MUCH AND PROMINENTLY IDENTIFIED WITH. THEY HAVE SHARPLY ATTACKED DETENTE. THEY HAVE SHARPLY ATTACKED, FOR EXAMPLE, THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. DID YOU FIND IN ANY WAY THAT ON A PERSONAL LEVEL BECAUSE OF THESE POLICIES THE CHINESE WERE A TOUCH COOL IN YOUR DIRECTION?

MR. KISSINGER: NO, PERSONAL RELATIONS ARE OUTSTANDING. THIS WAS MY EIGHTH VISIT TO CHINA IN FOUR YEARS. THESE ARE ALL ~~THE~~ PEOPLE I KNOW WELL. WE DON'T GO TO CHINA TO ASK APPROVAL FOR OUR OTHER POLICIES. THEY DON'T ASK APPROVAL FOR THEIR POLICIES. SO WE DISCUSS MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST AND ON THE PERSONAL LEVEL THE RELATIONSHIP IS EXTREMELY GOOD.

TED KOPPEL, ABC: MR. SECRETARY, YOU HAD AN EXTRA-ORDINARILY LONG MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN MAO. DO YOU REGARD HIM ON THE BASIS OF YOUR MEETING AS STILL AN ACTIVE FORCE IN

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CHINA TODAY OR DOES HE HAVE A LARGELY HONORIFIC ROLE?

MR. KISSINGER: WELL I CANNOT DETERMINE THE INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS IN CHINA, BUT MY IMPRESSION WAS OF A MAN OF VERY POWERFUL INTELLIGENCE, VERY STRONG VIEWS AND I SEE NO REASON TO DOUBT THAT HE IS IN CHARGE OF EVENTS IN CHINA.

TED KOPPEL, ABC: I UNDERSTAND THAT YOU CAN'T GO INTO DETAIL, BUT CAN YOU GIVE US THE SENSE OF THE MOOD. HOW DID THESE MEETINGS GO WHEN YOU WENT IN TO SEE MAO?

MR. KISSINGER: THEY'RE IN A RATHER SPARSE ROOM AND HE LIKES TO JOKE. I HAVE LEARNED THAT ALL OF HIS REMARKS ARE RATHER CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT. I THINK THE DISCUSSIONS WERE WELL DESCRIBED AS WIDE RANGING, VERY ACUTE.

BERNARD KALB, CBS: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU HAVE THE FEELING THAT THE CHINESE WANT, VERY MUCH SO, THE UNITED STATES TO REMAIN IN ASIA?

MR. KISSINGER: I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CHINESE, WITH ALL THE THINGS THAT MAY HAVE BEEN SAID AT THE BANQUETS-- I THINK THE CHINESE BASICALLY UNDERSTAND OUR GLOBAL POLICY-- AND UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY OF OUR ROLE IN ASIA--AND CERTAINLY HAVE GIVEN NO SIGN EITHER TO US OR TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY THAT THEY WANT US TO END IT.

BERNARD KALB, CBS: ARE YOU SUGGESTING THE CHINESE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE UNITED STATES REMAIN IN ASIA?

MR. KISSINGER: WELL I THINK IT IS FOR THEM TO SAY WHAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO DO. I HAVE HEARD NO OPPOSITION TO IT NOR TO MY KNOWLEDGE HAVE OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES.

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DON OLIVER, NBC: WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF A CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP IN CHINA WITH MAO ILL, WITH CHOU EN LAI IN THE HOSPITAL, DO YOU FEEL THE CHINESE ARE IN ANY POSITION RIGHT NOW TO MAKE ANY COMMITMENTS TOWARD PROGRESS IN US-SINO RELATIONSHIPS?

MR. KISSINGER: IT DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU MEAN BY PROGRESS IN US-SINO RELATIONSHIPS. ON THE ISSUES OF GLOBAL INTERNATIONAL CONCERN, WE HAVE MANY POINTS OF COMMON VIEWS AND WE ARE PURSUING THOSE. ON OTHER ISSUES OF PURELY BILATERAL NATURE HAVING TO DEAL WITH COMMERCIAL RELATIONS AND SO FORTH, WE ARE NOT ADVANCING MATTERS A GREAT DEAL. BUT THOSE ARE ESSENTIALLY OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. I DON'T ~~KNOW~~ KNOW HOW MUCH THIS IS RELATED TO THE LEADERSHIP POSITION. I THINK THIS IS A CALCULATED POLICY OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP.

TED KOPPEL, ABC: MR. SECRETARY, IT'S BEEN ALMOST A YEAR SINCE YOU WERE IN CHINA LAST AND A GREAT DEAL HAS HAPPENED WORLDWIDE SINCE THEN AND A GREAT DEAL HAS HAPPENED INTERNALLY IN THE UNITED STATES. DO YOU HAVE THE FEELING THAT CHINA'S PERCEPTION OF US HAS CHANGED AND IF SO IN WHAT DIRECTION?

MR. KISSINGER: CHINA'S INTEREST IN THE UNITED STATES DEPENDS ON THEIR PERCEPTION ON HOW EFFECTIVELY WE PERFORM INTERNATIONALLY AND HOW ABLE WE ARE TO CARRY OUT OUR POLICIES OR TO GET DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICIES. I WOULD GUESS THAT SINCE I FIRST WENT THERE IN 1971, THE SERIES OF UPEHAVALS WE HAVE GONE ^{through} ~~HAVE~~ NOT GREATLY STRENGTHENED

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THAT PERCEPTION. BUT ON THE WHOLE, I AM SATISFIED WITH THIS TRIP. I THINK THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE BASICALLY SOUND.

TED KOPPEL, ABC: IF I UNDERSTAND YOU CORRECTLY YOU SEEM TO BE SAYING THAT THE CHINESE FEEL WE ARE A SHADE WEAKER THAN WE WERE TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO.

MR. KISSINGER: WELL, I'M NOT SAYING THIS IS NECESSARILY EXPLICIT, BUT THIS COULD BE PART OF THEIR PERCEPTION.

TED KOPPEL, ABC: BUT THIS IS YOUR SENSE?

MR. KISSINGER: IT'S PROBABLY TRUE, BUT AGAIN I WANT TO STRESS THAT THE BASIC RELATIONSHIP WAS SOUND ON THIS TRIP.

BERNARD KALB, CBS: MR. SECRETARY, LISTENING TO SOME OF THE CHINESE OFFICIALS THAT WE TALKED WITH, WE GOT THE FEELING THAT IN THEIR ATTACKS ON DETENTE THERE SEEMED TO BE A DESIRE, A HOPE, ON THE PART OF THE CHINESE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD GO BACK TO THE COLD WAR DAYS VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. HOW DO YOU HANDLE THAT ONE IN YOUR NEGOTIATIONS?

MR. KISSINGER: WE DO NOT MAKE ANY ATTEMPT TO ENCOURAGE THIS SPLIT BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. WE DO NOT TELL THEM HOW THEY SHOULD CONDUCT THEIR ^{RELATIONS} ~~RELATIONS~~ WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WE CONDUCT OUR OWN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. SIMILARLY, WE DO NOT PERMIT THE SOVIET UNION TO TELL US HOW TO CONDUCT OUR

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RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. THE TWO GREAT COMMUNIST COUNTRIES HAVE A MAJOR DISAGREEMENT OF THEIR OWN AND IT IS UP TO THEM HOW TO DEAL WITH IT.

BERNARD KALB, CBS: FORGETTING ABOUT WHAT ONE SIDE MAY TELL THE OTHER, HOW DO YOU HANDLE THE SUBJECT, HOW DID BOTH SIDES HANDLE THE SUBJECT, OF THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE TALKS?

MR. KISSINGER: WHEN THE OCCASION ARISES WE STATE OUR PERCEPTION OF THE PROBLEM AND IT'S OBVIOUS THEY'RE STATING THEIR PERCEPTION--WE SHOULD HOWEVER NOT OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT BOTH OF US ARE OPPOSED TO EXPANSIONISM. WE MAY HAVE DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS ON HOW TO RESIST IT OR WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO EASE THE CONDITIONS, BUT THE UNITED STATES HAS NO ILLUSIONS THAT, IF THERE IS EXPANSIONISM, ~~THAT~~ WE HAVE MANY INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO RESIST IT.

DON OLIVER, NBC: DID THE CHINESE GIVE YOU ANY INDICATION THAT THEY FEEL THAT DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, FROM THE AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW, IS A BAR TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH CHINA?

MR. KISSINGER: NO, NO SUCH POINT WAS MADE TO US.

DON OLIVER, NBC: DID THE CHINESE SEEM TO BE WORRIED ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP?

MR. KISSINGER: NOR WOULD WE ACCEPT SUCH A PROPOSITION FROM EITHER THE SOVIET UNION VIS-A-VIS CHINA OR FROM CHINA

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VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION.

TED KOPPEL, ABC: WOULDN'T IT BE FAIR TO SAY THEN, MR. SECRETARY, THAT THE CHINESE ARE NOT HAPPY WITH WHAT THEY SEE AS A SOFTENING OF OUR RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION. DON'T THEY WANT TO SEE US TOUGHEN IT?

MR. KISSINGER: WELL, SINCE WE OPENED OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA IN 1971--AND AFTER ALL I WAS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARCHITECTS OF THIS--AT THAT TIME WE WERE ALREADY ENGAGED IN IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WE HAVE PURSUED THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH BOTH SIDES SIMULTANEOUSLY.

TED KOPPEL, ABC: NO, I UNDERSTAND THAT BUT I'M ASKING YOU ABOUT THE CHINESE ATTITUDE. IT SEEMED TO US THAT THEY WANTED THE UNITED STATES TO GET TOUGH WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

MR. KISSINGER: NO, BUT YOU HAVE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE FORMAL POSITION OF THE CHINESE AND WHAT WE MAY BE TALKING ABOUT PRIVATELY. IN ANY EVENT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT A BASIC SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

NEWSMEN: THANK YOU.

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